

10c JULY 2, 1951

New Republic



HERBLOCK
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"Pardon me but your house is on fire"

CORRESPONDENCE

The British View

SIR: When, in February, you printed my modest contribution to the "great debate," I sat back and waited demurely for the brickbats and the abuse. I did, indeed, receive one or two unscented missives whose gist was, "I know nothing at all about Asia and not much about anything else, but I *do* know that you are a 'dirty Limey appeaser'," but also, to my great pleasure and surprise, I received a number of letters from executives, lawyers, university instructors and others from many parts of the US with the general purport, "Thank God you have said what so many of us feel but which most of us daren't say for fear of being marked down as 'Reds'." Yet at this time the bulk of the British press refused to print anything against the MacArthur policy lest it be taken for anti-Americanism, and they thus contrived to give the impression to the United States that British public opinion supported the MacArthurites who were then most strident and dangerous. Hence my article—or rather, letter—which was intended to correct the impression prevailing in the US regarding the British viewpoint. Since then, what appears to be the rejection of the MacArthur principle by the people of America (even if the victory has been jeopardized by the concessions of Mr. Rusk) makes many of us here in Britain feel for the first time that there *need* be no new global war.

In the course of the "great debate" there is one factor which, so far as I am aware, has not been explicitly mentioned and that is the revulsion felt on both sides of the Atlantic for General MacArthur's sadistic maltreatment of the English language. Whereas Generals Marshall and Bradley have in their testimony to Congress used words with the greatest care and precision, weighing meanings with a deep sense of responsibility, General MacArthur's vocabulary and diction are chosen apparently for their vagueness, ambiguity or for their appeal to the lower human emotions ("corniness," I believe, is the right American word). With this goes a vicious preference for the merely wrong or ungrammatical, with an underlying determination to do dirt to the English language if to nothing else. And this revulsion is that of ordinary people, able both to read and write, and not that merely of literary persons who suspect

that for the General the pulp magazines are the highest form of art. The reason is, I feel, that people realize that political judgments and decisions, like military orders, are expressed in *words*, and if this be the General's language, what sort of meaning (let alone weight) is to be attached to his judgments or decisions? The man for whom this great globe of ours habitually turns "over and over" like an empty oil-drum in a hurricane, or a sleeper with a bad conscience, instead of "round and round" in the smooth and majestic revolution of a major planet, is likely to give orders deficient in precision, correctness and judgment. Artful—yes; demagogic—yes; wise and reliable—no!

To revert to the war in Korea. While I regard the present conflict to be the logical outcome of many years of mistaken British and (more recently and importantly) American policy toward China, it seems clear that if world peace is to be preserved any immediate arrangement between the belligerents must be in the nature of a compromise. Unfortunately, US official policy does not so far include what appears to be a *sine qua non* of a settlement acceptable to the Chinese—namely a UN seat for China, the rendition of Formosa and representation in settling the Japanese peace. Equally unfortunately, the Chinese have so far given no lead which would enable Britain to become the bridge between Chinese and American opinion. Deeply resentful of (a) the action of America which, they say, prolonged the civil war and thus caused immeasurable suffering to the Chinese, and (b) the building up against them of Japan which they had fought for years before Pearl Harbor, the Chinese (and this applies to non-Communist Chinese opinion in Hong Kong and Southeast Asia as well as in Communist Peking) are completely deaf to any talk of their "aggression" in Korea, and they have worked themselves into a state of angry self-righteousness. Meanwhile the intransigence of both sides plays into the hands of the MacArthurites and their Chinese equivalents who both want the same simple thing—world war. One unfortunate result of this intransigence, for example, is that the British at the United Nations have felt constrained to narrow their diplomatic bridgehead. I advocated and still advocate the physical withdrawal of the West from Asia to facilitate an understanding between the con-

tinents on a new basis, but obviously there must be stages in such a withdrawal, and the Chinese who immemorially have set such great store by "face" must surely see the necessity of conceding some face-saving formula to the United Nations even while they argue that they are in the wrong. Their government, at least, must know that the majority of the people in the Western world are still firmly persuaded that the UN intervention in Korea in June was justified by the Charter. The celebrated A. H. Smith, the American author of *Chinese Characteristics*, mentions a Chinese district magistrate who, as a special favor, was allowed to be executed in his robes of office in order to save his face! The United Nations are by no means in this parlous extremity, but cannot we expect a nation like the

(Continued on page 4)

BANDWAGON

Proud Boast

He [Assistant Superintendent of Schools Baldwin] admitted, as brought out at the state inquiry, that it is possible that some school kids sniff heroin in class, but said that a survey indicated that no narcotics purchases have been made in school buildings. "They have to go outside to get it," he said. — *From the New York Post.*

From Each According to His Ability?

It is a well-known fact that in Soviet embassies and consulates a gardener or chauffeur is usually the real boss and issues orders to the ambassador or the consul. — *From a report by the State Senate Committee on Un-American Activities printed in the Oakland, Calif., Tribune.*

Couture Couture

Rose Marie Reid whose bathing attire are receiving international notice has divided her creations into the three basic types of swim wear. There is the functional suit for swimming, the figure couture suit for sunning and her exciting psychological suit for reasons a girl will decide herself. — *From a release on a fund-raising luncheon and fashion show at the Club Del Mar in Hollywood.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; \$2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. — The Editors

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WASHINGTON WIRE

WHEN Congressmen start slapping each other, as Reps. Cannon and Phillips did last week, you can tell that hot weather has arrived. On a sticky Wash- ington summer day the human race be- comes insufferable, and slapping is the least you can do to it. It frequently means also, in Congress, shuffling off chores and longing for vacation. Now comes the climax of a number of mat- ters. The MacArthur inquiry is peter- ing out in its two- millionth word. A make- shift, feeble Defense Pro- duction Act which even sponsors apologize for is being extended this week- end. The House has passed its tax bill (on which Truman asked quick action—six months ago) and now the Senate will languidly take it up. And finally there is the Ko- rean War. We may even settle that while we are about it.

Everybody wishes the Korean War would end. The temptation is to set- tle at any price. It remains to be seen what is behind the Malik proposal. Chinese aggression has been stopped. Collective security under the UN has made a rough beginning in the world. The tragedy is the terrible fate of rav- aged Korea. Acheson laid down the prerequisites of a settlement in his Mac- Arthur testimony: "unification, pacifica- tion and democratization." It is signifi- cant, too, that the forward advance of UN troops in Korea has been delib- erately halted. Since the enemy's Iron Triangle was broken, June 10, the ex- pected UN advance has not been launched, and our troops have marked time. It has been an invitation to the Communists, as loud as military strategy could voice it, to come forward with a cease-fire proposal.

We have made progress in one year of Korea. Defense is building up. Eisen- hower has made a start with the Atlantic group. Communism was set back in the French and Italian elections. Yugo-

slavia is stronger. In satellite territory there are signs of discomfort and dis- satisfaction. Russia has been frustrated in Korea. How strong and steadfast can the free world be?

General MacArthur was politely in- vited to testify at the wind-up of the "great inquiry" but replied, in effect, "I will not return." This erstwhile big show has just about lost its audience



appeal. If you expected any definitive conclusion from the 26 Senators who entrepreneured the thing you are mistaken. They will write various reports, but in no hurry. Mac- Arthur, who, at 71, gives every evi- dence of considering himself a Presi- dential candidate, plans a nationwide barnstorming tour away from his palatial suite in the Waldorf Towers: a development which we find enter- taining rather than important. Look- ing back over it all, the highlight was on that first afternoon when Mac- Arthur intimated to the joint session of Congress (without actually saying it) that the Joint Chiefs of Staff were on his side. We shall never forget the Re- publican hysteria at this, leaping in the aisles. When this promise proved a phony, the heart went out of the fight.

One of the most eloquent protests ever uttered against outlawing the Com- munist Party was made by Governor Dewey, May 17, 1948, in his Portland, Oregon, debate with Harold Stassen. Now the Justice Department's decision to indict the second echelon of 21 Com- munist leaders (after the Supreme Court's six-to-two validation of the con- viction of the first 11) makes the ques- tion of whether the Party is actually being "outlawed" largely one of seman- tics. If you go back and re-read Dewey's powerful speech, you will find the dan- gers of outlawry spelled out. The na- tion would not be safer for driving sub- versive forces underground, he said, but more imperiled. Canada tried outlawry,

he recalled, in the face of which Communists "developed the greatest atomic bomb conspiracy in history, and Canada had to repeal the law." And again Dewey commented, "You can't shoot an idea with a law."

Taft supporters are fighting like tigers to block the proposed Senate investigation of the 1950 Ohio election campaign which Taft previously rhetorically demanded. Taft argued that labor had put up a big fund to beat him. Quiet little Margaret Chase Smith, having polished off the Maryland probe, turned to Ohio with assumed innocence, but Taft supporters don't want exposed the huge sums that went into his own campaign, which are rumored to have reached \$5 million.

For pure comedy the demand on Taft by Senator McCarthy that he be put on the GOP Senate Policy Committee is hard to equal. McCarthy is up for reelection in 1952. He wants a big committee assignment to show Wisconsin voters how important he is; he has none at present. Taft has given McCarthy many a pat on the back, but McCarthy's latest campaign to prove Gen. George Marshall a "traitor" has been an absolute dud. Believe it or not, Senator Wherry (R, Nebr.) has Presidential aspirations himself. He is jealous of Taft. He has egged McCarthy on to make his embarrassing demand for a high GOP post. It puts Taft right on the spot. Will he publicly embrace McCarthy or run the risk, some day, of being called "traitor" in turn?

Notes: The American Medical Association isn't quitting lobbying after all; the \$100,000-a-year husband-and-wife publicity firm of Clem Whitaker and Leone Baxter (the Lady with the Lamp) have been hired for another year to fight "socialized medicine." . . . Corporate profits in the first quarter of 1951 are the highest in history: \$50 billion before taxes, \$24 billion after taxes. . . . Canada has just voted the first stage of a comprehensive old-age security program benefiting every citizen over 65; this is done in the face of heavy defense expenditure increases.

Washington

T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

Chinese who have always shown such a refined solicitude for human dignity to smooth the way by concessions toward a workable compromise? I, for one, cannot believe that Communism has destroyed the essential social nature of the Chinese. But we, for our part, must strive with all our might to keep that bridge open and to keep our own evil extremists at bay.

Cambridge, England VICTOR PURCELL

Formosa's Future

SIR: How can an anti-Communist magazine possibly recommend trading Formosa to the Chinese Reds? The Administration, when it decided to go into Korea, determined to hold onto Formosa as well as the territory south of the 38th Parallel. It seemed to me that these two parcels of territory were tied together by Truman's action when we entered the Korean War, and surrender of either of them would be like rewarding Mao for his aggression, perhaps an even better reward than UN membership.

After all, until world government is achieved, the UN is little more than an international debating society, and Mr. Gromyko and his friends have gotten along very well so far without help from the Chinese in the interminable arguments. Moreover, it takes only one to make a veto, the principal cause of UN futility.

Finally, in the same issue you describe atrocities perpetrated on the Chinese mainland in the name of the "people's state." Do you advocate spreading this slaughter further, adding the people of Formosa as grist in Mao's murder mill?

Chicago

DANIEL SIMON

From the Standing Rock Tribe

SIR: We know that your readers will be pleased to hear that we have won our fight to have our own attorney on the terms agreed upon between us and him. Indian Commissioner Dillon Myer's attempt to prevent us from doing so was reversed on May 17 by Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman. Chapman's action resulted from a "lobbying" campaign here in Washington that lasted four weeks. This campaign was conducted by the undersigned delegation and by our organization, the National Congress of American Indians. We testified before Senate and House committees, presented our case to the public through the press, radio and television, and by letters.

The Indian Bureau claimed to be

saving us money by holding down attorney fees. They actually put us to an expense of several thousand dollars for this trip to Washington. . . .

We are very thankful to Secretary Chapman for his action in upholding our right to decide what attorney we shall have and how much we shall pay him. . . .

We have won a preliminary skirmish. We have gained the right to select our own attorney on our own terms. But the big battle to avoid the loss of our last remaining lands is still ahead. Plans are going forward to put our reservation under hundreds of feet of water by the building of a useless dam. The government has tried so hard to keep us from even having a lawyer, loyal only to our interests, that they will certainly use other unfair methods to force us to give up our lands.

The negotiations with the government are now beginning. They will last for months, perhaps for years. We shall need help in the future. We should appreciate your printing our letter and asking your readers to write to our chairman, Mrs. Kelly, Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, at Fort Yates, North Dakota, if they are interested in knowing about the struggle as it progresses and would like to help us.

JOSEPHINE KELLY, Chairman

LEO CADOTTE

FRANCIS RED TOMAHAWK

Fort Yates, N.D.

JAMES MCLEAN

Lewis, Too

SIR: When men named Douglas are being proposed for the nomination for the Presidency by the Democratic Party, how come that the name of still another Douglas was not thought of just as a matter of course? Lewis W. Douglas has what that office requires: unusual ability, courage, honesty, a winning, constructive approach to people and policies, plus experience which uniquely qualifies him for the position.

WALTER MITCHELL

Rancho Santa Fe, Calif.

The Way We Live Now

SIR: I would like to add a bit of comment to Mrs. Mildred Reynolds' letter on the high cost of eating. She spoke of the cost of dried skim milk being up in Raleigh, N. C. We can't even buy it in Indiana any more. The dairy lobby quietly pressured the legislature. I believe restaurants can buy it in 10-gallon packages but I don't know where. I had my sister-in-law bring me some from Louisville.

Kokomo, Ind.

HELEN TERRY



PEACE IN KOREA?

WHETHER anything concrete comes of it or not, Malik's peace overture is important. Up to now, the Communists, speaking through the Peking Government, have insisted that there can be no peace unless the United States withdraws her protection from Formosa, Peking is seated in the UN, and all foreign troops leave Korea. Malik's radio speech under the auspices of the United Nations talks merely of "an armistice providing for the mutual withdrawal of forces from the 38th Parallel." Not only in China, but throughout the whole Communist world, loss of face is a tremendously important factor. It is impossible to believe that the Russian Deputy Foreign Minister would make a statement involving such a huge reduction in previous demands, unless his offer was official in the highest sense.

In assessing the importance of the Malik proposal it is essential to consider the position of the three chief elements involved: Russia, China and the UN. The North and South Koreans would, or could be compelled to, live up to the terms of a general settlement.

Does Russia want peace? There is good reason to believe that she does. Even without the use of her troops, she is so heavily involved in the Korean War that her prestige suffered a shattering blow when it became clear that the United Nations forces could not be shoved off the peninsula. These forces are being hardened and disciplined into a superb fighting unit, incomparably superior to that of a year ago. Korea has helped to waken the democratic world from its slumbers; it has accelerated the tempo of preparedness in Europe and the United States. It has made a mockery of Moscow's great "peace campaign" with which it had hoped to lull the West to its destruction.

Does China want peace? For various reasons, including national psychology, the Chinese may be more stubborn than the Russians. On the other hand, their loss of face has already been tremendous, and is likely to increase if the war goes on. It is simply not true that they have inexhaustible forces to put in the field. Their supply of trained manpower is limited and has already been gravely hurt. For equipment they depend so heavily on Russia that if the aid of the USSR were cut off defeat would be almost certain.

Does the UN want peace? There has been great confusion as to the aims of the United Nations in fighting in Korea and especially since China entered the war. Some of our military men, in particular, talk as though there could be no satisfactory outcome except a complete military victory over the entire Communist world. On the contrary, the United Nations forces entered Korea to halt aggression. That aggression has been halted; the Communist forces are, in general, farther north today than they were when the war began a year ago. On January 2 of this year, the Good Offices Committee made an offer which in large part strikingly paralleled Malik's proposal: a cease-fire on both sides, a demilitarized zone 20 miles deep, extending north from the 38th Parallel; and a UN Commission to act as a watchdog thereafter throughout all Korea. The Malik proposal comes close enough to these terms to justify immediate and full exploration of his offer.

The Malik statement does not suggest who is to negotiate, beyond saying that it should be "the belligerents," or how pressure might be brought upon a reluctant China, since Russia would of course not want to apply force so great as to run the risk of pushing Mao into Titoism. But these obstacles would exist whenever peace was attempted, and no matter how much blood has been spilled; they are no reason for delay.

Would peace in Korea mean the end of the cold war? No; the fanatical zeal of the Communists and the drive toward Russian imperialism would still be a tremendously powerful force pushing toward ultimate war. Yet peace in Korea would greatly heighten the hope of permanent peace throughout the world. The United Nations would have won the first great test of a collective attempt to halt aggression. The failure of the Communists in Korea would certainly dampen their enthusiasm, for a long time to come, for similar aggression somewhere else. A settlement in Korea could be disastrous to the democratic world if it lulled us back to sleep. If we remained vigilant, if we continued to strengthen ourselves not only militarily but by giving democracy concrete form in every part of the world where we have influence, then time would be on our side and the chance for permanent peace would be better than it has been for decades.

INVITATION TO DISASTER

THE CONGRESS apparently has decided to take "the easy way" with regard to inflation—"to relax controls and hope for the best." Such a "relaxed, soft attitude," President Truman warned in a last-minute plea for strengthened powers to deal with the economic emergency, "is an invitation to disaster."

A majority of the members of Congress, we believe, are aware that what the President said is true. Deliberately and cynically, the majority has chosen to legislate on the basis of pressure rather than the public interest. Members of the Senate and House Committees on Banking and Currency who favored the extension of the price, wage and rent controls contained in the Defense Production Act of 1950 continually complained to their liberal and labor friends about the small amount of mail received from the pro-controls side, and such usually stalwart Administration men as Senators Douglas, Fulbright and Sparkman apparently felt no strong compunction even to be present during committee hearings. Most of the Democratic desks were usually empty. Chairman Maybank remarked several times that "There doesn't seem to be much interest in this bill."

But Bricker, Capehart and Dirksen were on hand in the Senate Committee every day to speak for the lobbies. And in the House Committee, Representative Wolcott, chief Republican brain-truster against controls, always had a full complement of experienced assistants. The Democratic leadership paid little attention to the battle raging behind the closed doors of the Banking Committee room until President Truman called them to task. Richard Bolling of Kansas City, a very junior member of the committee, was left almost alone to back up the able chairman Brent Spence of Kentucky.

The result has been victory for a deadly coalition, composed basically of the National Association of Manufacturers, the US Chamber of Commerce and the American Farm Bureau Federation, working under Congressional Republican leadership, and using the cattlemen as front-line expendables.

The bills which the respective committees have sent to the floors of the House and Senate for action would guarantee the country either creeping or galloping inflation. The House bill would prevent any rollback in the price of farm products. The Senate bill would prohibit any rollback in the price of *any* product under control beyond the sky-high level of January 25-February 24. Dozens of still more destructive amendments to the

present law will be offered from the floor. The pressures being what they are, the Administration will be fortunate to get off with as mild a dilution of its controls powers which the House Committee has voted.

The majority report of the Senate Committee admitted that "the real inflationary danger is ahead, not behind." Without continuation of price, wage and rent controls, "A new spiral of price inflation, dwarfing that occurring after the outbreak of the Korean War, would be inevitable and irresistible." But having properly analyzed the situation, the committee majority hypocritically went on to prohibit price rollbacks on the ground that they "might act as a deterrent to production." A minority report signed by Senators Fulbright, Sparkman, Douglas, Benton and Moody, all Democrats, pointed out that this action "can only sabotage the entire stabilization program by leading to drastic price increases—and an engraved invitation to a round of wage increases." As Price Stabilizer DiSalle explained, "If rollbacks are prevented, [manufacturers'] costs . . . will be higher, and their ceilings will have to be raised still further. Manufacturers who kept their price increases within reason would have to be allowed to bring their prices up to the level of those who made unreasonable price advances."

United Automobile Workers President Walter Reuther, urging Congress to strengthen controls against the possibility of a heavier inflation wave ahead, estimates that the weakening amendments now contemplated will cost the nation another \$12 billion in addition to the \$17 billion already lost through blown-up prices. Reuther and the other leaders of labor deserve credit for being the only organized group to come before Congress with a definite willingness to give up their chance for special gains if general stability could be assured. But at the same time it must be recognized that the one-sidedness of the pressures exerted in the fight over controls is due to the fact that union members apparently have not yet been hit hard enough by inflation to react violently against it. Those who have been hit hardest are the unorganized workers and those living on pensions who have no channels through which to make themselves heard and have not been taught, as labor people have, to write to their Congressmen in terms of pending bills.

In a democracy, we have been taught to expect our legislatures to act in the public interest. The current experience with controls shows how the problem sharpens when the group most concerned is not organized in a pressure way.

THE WEEK

TWENTY-ONE MORE

Eleven Communist leaders are in jail or on their way to jail, the Supreme Court having upheld their conviction for violation of the Smith Act. Twenty-one more have now been indicted under the same Act, and on June 20, 17 of them, all who could be found on that date, were arrested, 16 in New York and one in Pittsburgh. The arrests were made at 7 a.m., and high bail was set, aggregating \$191,000 for the 17. The indictments charged that the Communist Party has been a criminal conspiracy since 1945 and that its leadership has organized clubs, recruited members to concentrate them in key plants and industries and preached violent revolution to take place "as speedily as circumstances permit."

The fresh indictments, of course, break no new ground. They were to be expected, following the Supreme Court decision of June 4 which upheld by a vote of six to two the conviction of the first 11 Communists. That decision was itself a sign of the increasing tension between Soviet Russia and the United States, as the two dissenting Justices, Douglas and Black, pointed out. The majority of six argued, following the decision of Judge Learned Hand in the US Court of Appeals, that the times are so serious that "a clear and present danger" does exist and that "conspiracy to teach and advocate" violent revolution must be regarded as a crime as long as the conspirators have powerful ties with the country that is patently challenging the US in every part of the world.

Behind the new indictments is a background of Department of Justice efforts to keep secret the names of its informants in the Communist Party and in industrial centers of the nation. The government had the choice of proceeding against Communist leaders on either of two theories—that they were agents of a foreign power and receiving finances and instructions from abroad, or that they were violating the Smith Act by en-

gaging in a domestic conspiracy to overthrow the government. To have prosecuted the Communist Party members for being foreign agents would have forced the government to disclose its secret agents by using them as witnesses. So, instead, the government chose to prosecute under the Smith Act with full realization that its success narrows the scope of the First Amendment.

The Department of Justice has, in effect, followed the reasoning brought forth by Justice Jackson, who, in his opinion, attempted to distinguish between legal and illegal Communists. It is legal, he said, to belong to the Communist Party and to teach Communism; it is illegal to promote attempts at sabotage and otherwise combine in a conspiracy to perform criminal acts. The fact that some Communist Party activities are legitimate does not prevent Party members from being punished for illegal activities conducted on behalf of the Party.

Do the new indictments presage a wave of further arrests? Unless the government alters its present policy, the arrests will not be extended to encompass rank-and-file Party members. The government would thus have as a policy the jailing of those top Party members who give orders; those who merely take them may go free. Although the Communist Party has not been declared illegal, its leaders are in jail and presumably new leaders who come forward will also be arrested and tried. Whether or not the arrests stop at 32, or as some commentators predict extend into the thousands, the effectiveness of the Communist Party in the United States has been greatly reduced; the Bill of Rights has not escaped unscathed.

MEDICAL CARE FOR AGED

When social security legislation was being drafted in the 1930s, there was a strong movement to include benefits to cover doctor and hospital expenses for those over 65 years of age. Even at

that time American Medical Association opposition was strong enough to defeat the provision. The idea was revived again in 1942 when the Federal Security Agency met with representatives of the AMA and various other hospital and medical associations, but was shelved along with other welfare measures during World War II. Recently, there have been rumors that the FSA is again considering the inclusion of free hospital care in old-age benefits.

The average old-age pension today is \$43.31 per month. Few would deny that people generally need more medical care after 65 when they are usually less able to pay for it. Those who have belonged to voluntary health plans find that at 65 they are either dropped from the plan or their benefits are cut in half. Today there are 11.5 million men and women 65 and over—about eight percent of the total population. By 1975 that proportion will have increased to 11 percent. Life expectancy, which was about 48 years in 1900 and 60 years in 1930, has increased to the extent that persons retiring at 65 now have an average of 13 years of life remaining, and more than half of them will live longer.

Such a plan would be a desirable beginning for the Administration's overall national health-insurance program. Last week President Truman challenged the doctor lobby to come up with a better proposal, charging "Skyrocketing medical costs are pushing millions of Americans into the medically indigent class. Medical care is for the people, and not just for the doctors and the rich."

Rep. Sidney Yates (D, Ill.), who recently introduced a Congressional resolution to create a Select Committee on Problems of the Aging, has pointed out that many older people have neither earnings nor savings sufficient to support themselves—no matter how hard they have tried. "Even if he uses up the entire principle and all interest on his capital, a person aged 65

must have accumulated about \$17,000 to have an income of \$100 per month for the rest of his life. For many American families, and especially for those who have raised children, savings in such an amount are impossible," Yates said. Of the 4.1 million households in the country with annual incomes below \$1,000, 32 percent are headed by persons 65 and over. The old people cannot buy hospitalization insurance at their age; nor can they afford large medical bills which might take all their savings.

The present Social Security Fund has a surplus which can provide hospitalization for the seven million old persons now receiving pensions. The AMA may have a harder time opposing this type of legislation today since it will have the strong support of Townsendites and others approaching retirement age who don't let age keep them from waging a good fight!

A CHANGE OF CLOAK

Setting its sights stubbornly on the short-term period of economic normalcy the country is presently enjoying, Congress has listened sympathetically to lobbyists for big and little business who have been crying on its shoulders about the sad state of the television and automobile markets. Both the House and Senate Banking Committees have favorably reported legislation that will seriously weaken the consumer credit controls which have worked so well in halting inflation during past months.

Leading the parade of finance company and manufacturers' spokesmen have been two former US Senators—Scott Lucas and Francis Myers. Last fall in their roles as Senate Majority Leader and Majority Whip, Lucas and Myers fervently worked for controls. Now they are the spokesmen of the special interests trying to water down these same controls. The chronic tendency of defeated Congressmen to go into Washington law practice is deplorable enough under ordinary circumstances, but the spectacle of last session's controls champions fighting against their own legislative accomplishments adds heavily to the confusion in the Capital.

In one day, Congressional committees gave in to lobby pressure to reduce credit requirements on automobiles, while, on the other side of town, the National Production Authority ordered a one-third cutback in this year's third-quarter automobile production. Most serious of all, the lobbyists may succeed in getting Congress to forbid the Federal Reserve Board to increase its reserve requirements, no matter how bad inflationary pressures may get.

The hordes of lobbyists who have invaded Capitol Hill to influence Congress to write exceptions and loopholes into the new economic-controls bill have again raised the question of regulation of this "third house" of Congress. The problem is made all the more acute when large numbers of the lobbying cadre are veterans of the other two houses. Under present rules, any former member of Congress can walk into the cloakrooms and even onto the floor to talk with the lawmakers. This has led the Americans for Democratic Action to ask the committee studying Congressional reorganization to bar all registered lobbyists from the chambers. As an ADA representative put it: "At least it will put them on the same level with those of us who haven't had a chance to serve the people."

CLEAN-UP CAMPAIGNS

The Florida State Legislature recently passed a bill curbing the high cost of political campaigns which could well serve as a pattern for national legislation. The liberal, crusading *St. Petersburg Times*, after the 1950 election, sent a reporter throughout the state to estimate the cost of that campaign. Weighing the amount of newspaper and radio advertising and the other available evidence, the *Times* concluded that Claude Pepper and George Smathers had combined expenditures of about \$2 million in their contest for the Senate primary (see *NR*, April 9), that Gov. Fuller Warren and other candidates received hundreds of thousands of dollars in campaign contributions. The *Times* found that "as a result, honest men have come into office under tremendous obligations to special inter-

ests which expect favors from local, state and federal governments—favors that cost the people many times over the original investment by the donor to a political campaign."

The state legislature began working on a bill to curb excessive campaign spending in Florida. The new law, signed by Governor Warren early this month, provides that no person can contribute more than \$1,000 to a campaign. No officer, director or administrative employee of a race track, utility or liquor business is permitted to contribute at all. Each candidate for state or federal office must name himself or another person as treasurer for his campaign, keep contributions in a designated bank and pay all campaign expenses by checks drawn on that bank. Those who wish to contribute to a candidate must first get an authorization (a copy of which must be deposited in the bank) from the campaign treasurer who must deposit contributions within 24 hours of receipt along with a statement showing the source of the contributions. The law applies to both primary and general elections. Persons violating it are subject to fines of up to \$1,000 and jail terms of up to six months. If a candidate himself violates the law, he forfeits the office for which he is running.

Governor Warren, when he signed the bill, pointed out:

In the past, a poor man running an honest race for high office had to combat special interests, political profiteers and a few foreign-owned, power-hungry newspapers. . . . The state's boundaries have been no barrier to those who meddle in politics for profit. Special interests have sent money into Florida campaigns when it served their ulterior purposes. . . . This law notifies the gluttons of privilege that they can no longer come into Florida and buy a democratic primary. Florida can now show the nation that the primary election serves the function it is intended to serve—that is, to give the people a chance to express a free choice of their chosen candidates.

Unless other states are prompt to follow Florida's example, Congress should certainly place a Federal Campaign Expenditures bill high on its agenda for the next session so that the disgraceful multi-million-dollar contests of 1950 will not be repeated.

OUTSIDE AMERICA

DUBIOUS PROPAGANDA

Czechoslovakia's Minister of Foreign Affairs recently protested to American Ambassador Briggs in Prague against what he called the "bellicose programs" broadcast by Radio Free Europe from Munich since May 1. The station, financed and operated by the American Committee for Free Europe, whose members are mostly wealthy American businessmen, is in the American zone of Germany. Its president is C. D. Jackson, formerly a high official of the Luce organization.

Jackson's comment on the Czechoslovak protest was that Radio Free Europe was not at all engaged in war propaganda. It was, he said, merely trying to maintain the hopes of the peoples living behind the Iron Curtain. But *Life* magazine gave a fuller explanation:

Counterattack within the Soviet empire and alliance with its human victims means "political warfare." The news of the day is packed with indications that a maximum program of political warfare, vigorously undertaken, can restore to millions of human beings the hope of freedom and stimulate grave—at some points decisive—trouble for the rulers of Soviet Communism. No one suggests that political warfare alone can win the struggle. But there is a heap of evidence that it can help powerfully to bring about the necessary disintegration of the Soviet Communist system, and in this way increase the possibility of winning.

Western Europeans are becoming aware that the Americans who agree with *Life* have "vigorously undertaken" to supplement the "white" propaganda of the Voice of America by "black" political (or psychological) warfare which is conducted by private citizens and is, hence, not subject to official protests from the Czechoslovak or other governments behind the Iron Curtain.

On April 24 the *Figaro*, the French

rightest pro-American newspaper, published a short article with the headline: "Last April 9. A Bloody Riot Broke Out in Stettin. One thousand persons were arrested and 30 wounded following a clash between Soviet police and Polish demonstrators." The article said the riot started when a drunken Russian officer shot down a peaceful Polish workman who had accidentally jostled him. A crowd gathered and chased the Russian, who fired more shots while trying to escape. He took refuge in a building occupied by the Soviet Administration in the "Square of the 22nd of May." Soon the Square was "black" with furious Poles. Finally, Soviet police and Polish troops restored order.

A number of facts about the story in the *Figaro* made it seem suspicious. First of all, the story carried the line "Correspondence *Figaro*" and the dateline, "Gdynia, 23 April." Under ordinary circumstances that should have meant that the story (or the facts in it) came directly from Gdynia by telegram or letter. But the *Figaro* has no correspondent in Gdynia—indeed, can have none under present conditions. No letter or telegram could have come to Paris within the time limit; none could have come through censorship. And if a traveler had brought the material by plane, the dateline was dishonest.

Stettin is not a Polish city; it is German, the old capital of Prussian Pomerania. And though the Polish Government, which got the city as a gift from the Red Army, has chased out the Germans and peopled it with Poles, the "atmosphere" of "local" indignation of the "home folks" against the Russian usurpers in the *Figaro* story was obviously overdone.

On May 15, the New York *Times* published a story, datelined Paris, and headlined "1,500 Poles Seized After Riot That Killed Nine in Stettin." The writer, Edward A. Morrow, recently transferred by the *Times* from Warsaw to Paris, gave as his source "a competent observer who was in the port that day" and "who witnessed only the mob action." In this version, there was no mention of drunkenness; the trouble started in an argument between a Russian major and two Poles. Before the

riot ended, nine Poles had been killed. The article quoted the observer as saying that the incident had "fanned anti-Soviet sentiments in the port to the highest pitch they had reached since the war, and had wiped out all the theoretical gains made in that area by 'the Society for Friendship with the USSR'."

The three-weeks time lag between the two stories may mean that the *Times* waited for confirmation from the observer "who witnessed only the mob action." It may well be true that the incident—or something like it—did in fact take place in Stettin. But the articles in both newspapers plainly lend themselves to the technique of political (or psychological) warfare as set forth by Jackson, and even more by *Life*.

To many Western Europeans, the practical usefulness of such methods is open to question. If Dean Rusk went too far in suggesting complete overthrow of Mao Tse-tung's China as the American policy goal, it is surely overshooting the mark to base the struggle for peace on "the necessary disintegration of Soviet Communism." A second objection is that such material gives Americans, and the citizens of the free world generally, false hopes. The third objection is that any confusing of fact and fable by the Americans tends to hurt the standing of American "truth propaganda" in Europe. And the fourth and greatest objection is that the reaction of large numbers of Poles—and other satellite peoples—to such political warfare is not very different from the reaction of the French and Italians—during the "liberation phase" of World War II—to "precision" and "pin-point" bombing. The purpose of such bombings was professedly to defeat the Nazis and to save the civilian populations of occupied countries. But many civilians were killed and in fashions that seemed to the surviving relatives and friends inexcusable if this was "precision" bombing. The parallel with present-day political warfare is that many civilians will be hurt; general morale will be impaired; and no good purpose will be served for the real goals of the peoples of the West.

Paris

PERCY WINNER

NEHRU'S BATTLE WITH THE PRESS

ON JUNE 1, the Indian Parliament passed the Nehru bill which abridges

by **Krishnalal Shridharani**

the freedom of speech, expression and press guaranteed as fundamental rights in the 15-month-old constitution. Thus ended a drama reminiscent of President Roosevelt's fight against "the nine old men" of the United States Supreme Court.

Naturally, the drama had its Indian setting and trimmings. President Roosevelt searched for a solution by seeking to "pack" the Supreme Court, and failed. In sharp contrast, Pandit Nehru "packed" the Parliament, and succeeded. A severe "party whip" required each member of the Congress Parliamentary Party to be present, to accept Nehru's bill as written, to oppose every amendment moved by non-Congress members, and to vote for the government-sponsored bill. Threats which included cancellation of Congress Party endorsement in the impending general elections silenced the protests which at least half of the House would have voiced. Even three journalist MPs who had been briefed by the embattled All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference to oppose the bill dared not vote against it. Presto, the Prime Minister had what he later gloated over as a "stupendous majority," 228 against 20. The fundamental law of the land, one year old, was amended.

It is easier of course to amend the constitution now than it would ever be in the future. This House is the Constituent Assembly enjoying the drafter's right to change his draft. Moreover, the Congress Party does not expect to maintain after the elections the steam-roller majority it currently enjoys.

A more fundamental reason underlies what the critics describe as the policy of hush-hush and rush-rush. The regime is rattled, even scared.

Led by Jawaharlal Nehru, who fancies himself to be a Socialist, the Congress Party had envisaged the abolition of the feudal Zamindari (Landlord) system and nationalization of key industries. Nehru's men wrote India's constitution with this "basic structure of society" in mind. They felt that they had crippled the concept of private property sufficiently to serve subsequent legislative needs. The courts ruled otherwise, and the whole land-reform program, so crucial in India and in all Asia, was thrown out of gear. Hence the need for a constitutional amendment. As Nehru said, he wanted to make

"explicit what was implicit" in the constitution in placing land reform

beyond the jurisdiction of the courts.

There was practically no opposition to this part of the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill. However, it was presented together with fresh restrictions on "freedom of speech and expression" guaranteed in the constitution as one of the fundamental rights of the citizen. The American analogy was once more invoked by the critics of the government who pointed out that the First Amendment to the US Constitution in 1791 enhanced the freedom of the press, stipulating that "the Congress shall make no laws . . . abridging the freedom of the press."

Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, the Law Minister, and a Columbia Ph.D., replied that the US Supreme Court recognized "the inherent police powers of the state," whereas in India, the courts have allowed even advocates of murder to go scot-free. A sensational judgment of the Bihar High Court was cited: Mrs. Shaila Bala Devi wrote in a Bengali pamphlet entitled *Sangram* (Struggle): "I want blood. . . . I want revolution. . . . Break the proud head of the oppressor. . . ." She was put into the dock by the state of Bihar, but the Bihar High Court Justice freed her. He cited Supreme Court judgments in cases involving the Fascist magazine *Organiser* and the Communist *Crossroad* and stated: "It follows logically that if a person were to go on inciting murder or other cognizable offenses either through the press or by word of mouth, he would be free to do so with impunity." Such judicial pronouncements provided the main reason on the government's side to amend the constitution.

Pandit Nehru said: "I want the power to prevent the country from going to pieces." The turbulent province of Punjab was at the back of his mind when he uttered these words. There, communalism—the spirit of religious strife—is once more rearing its ugly head, clad in a Sikh turban. The Sikhs are out to annihilate the Banias—the Hindu traders. Their ambition is to carve out an autonomous Sikh state.

Recently Master Tara Singh, leader of this Sikh group, was released from jail where he was sent for creating Sikh-Moslem and Sikh-Hindu tension. He was released through another judgment of the Punjab High Court, which gave him the protection of "fundamental rights." Promptly he made a speech in which he appealed to his Akali followers "to create such conditions in Punjab villages that no congressman or other party members would dare to come and speak."

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This press is in many regions controlled by communal leaders. Especially small newspapers, which have had a mushroom growth, incite violence and defame leading personalities. Nehru confessed to the Parliament that when a file of clippings from the Hindi and Urdu press was placed before him, he was aghast at the "obscurity, vulgarity and utter irresponsibility" that he found.

East Bengal is a third example of a state on the edge of mass violence. The division of Bengal between India and Pakistan has left inflamed bitterness, and there is always the danger of the recurrence of the 1947 carnage.

If the government is apprehensive of the extremists of the Right, it is also just as apprehensive of the extremists of the Left. Communalism and Communism, in India, are equally red rags to Shiva's bull.

After two years of warfare against regular army divisions Communist guerrillas, using terrorist tactics perfected in Malaya, are still fighting in Hyderabad and Madras. In Assam, which borders on Red China, and whose hills and tropical jungles are populated by Naga tribes and headhunters, Communist infiltration has given to Delhi many anxious hours. From time to time, Indian papers carry the story of a Chinese map which claims parts of Assam as Chinese territory. Recently the Assam Government arrested 25 Communist leaders, mostly Bengali. Had the Indian Parliament not passed the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill, these agitators might have been released by court order, for the courts of India have declared parts of the Preventive Detention Act invalid in the light of the fundamental freedoms listed in the new constitution. Thus at a time of instability and famine Communist agents have been released all over the country. The old liberal dilemma is to be found in India also: Should an embattled state protect a conspiracy to bring about its overthrow?

Time and again Nehru insisted that his government did not have the press in mind when it proposed amendments to the constitution; it simply wanted to control forces of disruption. According to him the press was unduly agitated. But there is good reason for the Indian press to get worked up. It has long memories of suppression at the hands of the British Government, when Pandit Nehru was one of the staunchest champions of

civil liberties. Yet even today, the Press Emergency Powers Act, the Public Safety Act and others, instituted by the British in wartime, are in force. Some of these laws were invalidated by the courts of the country in the light of the fundamental rights guaranteed in the new constitution. Now the amendments to the constitution restore those dead and half-dead laws so far as freedom of the press is concerned.

Protest is the vocation of the Indian press. It protested against the British and now it protests against the Nehru regime. There are around 500 dailies in India, about 1,800 weeklies and about 1,900 monthlies and other publications. The combined circulation of all the dailies does not exceed the seven million mark, although each copy is read by many because of the low purchasing power of the people. Standards are high in newspapers published in English. Irresponsibility and vulgarity prevail to a greater extent in Hindi papers. Yet the English dailies have been undermined by a trend of mergers so far advanced that only four outstanding independent newspapers remain—*Amrit Bazar Patrika*, *The Hindu*, *The Statesman* and the *Free Press Journal*. At the same time, the English papers are losing out to those published in Hindi. Within 15 years Hindi newspapers will have a greater circulation than English newspapers in India.

Three English weeklies published from Bombay have weighed heavily with the government in its decision to curb the freedom of the press. They are the *Current*, *Blitz* and *Atom*, all edited by Parsis. The *Blitz*, the largest, has a circulation of about 70,000 and is read avidly from one corner of India to another. About a year ago, it embroiled India's foreign ministry by publishing a story based on alleged official sources. It charged that the trouble in Tibet was "a tailor-made revolution." The British were described to be the culprits with the connivance of India. Mr. H. E. Richardson, the last of the Englishmen in India's foreign service, was described as the arch plotter. International sensations like this have goaded the government to curb freedom of speech to the extent that it offends against "friendly relations with foreign nations."

Here are some sample headlines from the *Blitz*: "Fatima Jinnah . . . Lady Behind the Pak Plot?" The story deals with the recent army plot to murder Paki-



stan's Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, and it seeks to involve the sister of the founder of Pakistan. Another headline indicts America for using "Poison Gas in Korea." Still another headline sees "America's Hand Behind Goa's Defiance in India." The story claims that the *Blitz* is in possession of a secret appendix to a US-Portuguese pact. The *Blitz* is openly pro-Russian and pro-Chinese and never misses an opportunity to strike against America. "Yanks Fought to the Last Turk, Negro and Puerto Rican in Korea," it tells its readers. Other *Blitz* stories reported that President Truman was dying of venereal disease, and that General MacArthur spent his days raping Korean virgins on beds of seaweed.

The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, which had condemned the "gutter press" time and again, took up the government's challenge on principle, and proved to be the strongest lobby in the country. As a result of its protests, what Pandit Nehru later described as a "major change" was accepted by the government. The word "reasonable" was inserted before the restrictions proposed to the freedom of speech and expression. The amendment to the measure restored the jurisdiction of the courts by making the fresh restrictions justiciable.

One-half of the press in the country was satisfied with this modification of the Nehru bill. But the Marwari press barons came out of the struggle badly battered. Pandit Nehru, another cabinet minister and several MPs went after these industry-owned newspaper chains, denouncing them as "black-marketeers in newsprint." And this is the segment of Indian journalism which lives at the mercy of the government! The Government of India is the biggest advertiser in the country and practically every paper depends upon its patronage. Moreover, the proprietors must have newsprint allocations from the government, as well as licenses to import newsprint.

Prime Minister Nehru denounced these huge corporations controlling newspapers. His critics answered that the government itself was the biggest combine in the field. The All-India Radio, a most powerful agency in moulding public opinion, is a government monopoly. There is a separate Ministry of Information and Broadcasting which employs thousands of people and produces newsreels which the nation's cinema houses are compelled to show. The struggle for the freedom of the press in India almost amounts to a tussle between government monopoly and private monopolies.

According to the amended constitution, the Parliament can pass laws restricting the freedom of speech and expression "in the interest of the security of the state." The critics of the government believe this to be too wide a category, capable of being utilized for political purposes by the party in power.

The Parliament is now "enabled" to legislate so as to curb freedom of speech and expression in so far as it offends against "friendly relations with foreign states." Critics of the government point out that such a provision does not exist in the constitution of any of the democratic countries. They are prepared to permit a ban on defamation of the head of a foreign state. But the clause, as it stands, might preclude any criticism of India's foreign policy. Pandit Nehru insists that so far as he is concerned, there never will be the slightest "interference with criticism of our internal or external policy or the policy of any foreign powers." Can he give a similar guarantee about his successor?

Freedom of speech and expression is also to be abridged in so far as it involves "incitement to offense." Critics of the government were prepared to accept a clause which would penalize incitement to violence. In their eyes such a phrase as "incitement to offense" would cover a multitude of sins and include, as Nehru himself confessed, "anything and everything."

Two further charges against the government remain. Opposition leaders like Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee allege that the Congress regime is arming itself with sweeping powers in order to stifle opposition parties and candidates during the coming elections. The violent fringe of the Indian press charges that the move is to throttle those publications which oppose the Congress regime. Both these allegations are hotly denied.

Even his opponents grant that so far as Nehru is concerned, none of the new powers will be misused. But what about the states, districts and faraway villages? There, opposition candidates and opposition periodicals have reason to fear. This was partly admitted by Nehru when he confessed that the idea to make press laws a central subject, depriving the states of the right to act directly in the matter, had to be given up "almost against my wish," because it involved many "constitutional complications." The central administration in India is more efficient and less corrupt than provincial governments. There is a genuine distrust of local leaders. Nehru regretted that an upward inch could not be added, for the present, to the curve representing the trend toward centralism.

Critics of the government asserted that the alleged "explosive situation" can be normalized by more food and better housing, by more efficient and less corrupt administration, by education in democracy through experience. The administration saw in this high-minded appeal a dangerous fallacy. An individual or a publication cannot retain his freedoms if the state loses its freedom. Nehru believes that at some cost he is buying a period of grace.

SMALL BUSINESS UNDER THE GUN

IN THE SHORT space of six months, small businessmen have suddenly

by Robert Ash Wallace

out of existence last January when the US Supreme Court decided that it

found themselves facing the wrong end of a double-barreled shotgun. This situation confronts them as a result of two Supreme Court decisions handed down this year. The Standard Oil case decided in January obliterated the Robinson-Patman Act, and the Schwegmann decision announced in May gutted the fair-trade laws.

The Senate last week began a hot debate over the issue involved in the Standard Oil case, which centers about the practice of discriminatory price cutting used by the monopolists to drive small firms out of business.

The Schwegmann decision has left in its wake a series of general price wars in New York, Philadelphia and other cities which will make it hard for a lot of small retailers to survive. In such fights the well-heeled department and chain stores can always outlast the neighborhood merchant.

The fair-trade laws attempted to protect small business in an obnoxious way—by permitting price fixing. Consumers, hungry for lower prices, were glad to see them go. But no such problem arises over the Robinson-Patman Act which does not allow price fixing. That Act prevents unfair price discriminations which serve no useful competitive purpose. Unfair price discriminations give big operators a chance to drive small businessmen out of business, not by legitimate competitive methods, but by forcing suppliers to give them special concessions at the expense of small concerns.

Something needs to be done immediately to restore the Robinson-Patman Act and repair the damage done by the Standard Oil decision. The problems posed by the existence or non-existence of fair-trade laws should be carefully studied to determine a wise solution. But the restoration of protection against unfair price discriminations should be the number-one item for action on the small-business agenda. That issue is now before the Senate.

The Robinson-Patman Act was the Magna Carta of small business. Passed in 1936 to put teeth in the 1914 Clayton Anti-Trust Law, it gave the government the power to stop price discriminations designed to drive small merchants out of business. While still nominally on the books, the Robinson-Patman Act actually went

was poor economic policy.

This was clearly an exercise of the legislative power by the judiciary. And three weeks after the Court acted on the case, supporters of the decision admitted that it was, by introducing a bill in the Senate to "conform statutory law to the interpretation of . . . the Robinson-Patman Act recently enunciated by the Supreme Court in *Standard Oil Company v. Federal Trade Commission*."

The issue involved in that case was simple: Is a discriminatory price cut legal if it is made in "good faith," regardless of how many small concerns may be driven out of business?

The Robinson-Patman Act says that price discriminations are illegal "where the effect . . . may be substantially to lessen competition. . . ." In the same paragraph, it lists *absolute* defenses which permit price discriminations regardless of the consequences. For instance, it says, "Nothing herein contained shall prevent differentials which make only due allowances for differences in cost. . . ." So, if a supplier can show cost savings as a result of mass purchases by a chain store, he can give a lower price to that chain store to the extent of the savings—even if it helps to drive out all its competitors.

A separate paragraph lists *procedural* defenses. One of these specifies that: "Nothing herein contained shall prevent a seller *rebutting* the prima-facie case thus made by showing that his lower price . . . was made in *good faith*. . . ." So good faith was admissible as an *argument* but not as an *absolute* defense.

In passing the Robinson-Patman Act, Congress closed the loophole in the Clayton Act which admitted good faith as an absolute defense. As a result, monopolies grew and maintained themselves by local price cutting—cutting prices in areas where small concerns were successfully competing. Chain stores could do this because, while they suffered temporary losses in a particular area, they could make up these losses by high prices in other areas where competition was weak. They could sustain the local price cuts until small competitors were driven out of business. Then, the chain stores could boost their prices up again without fear of competition.

Big operators could combine local price cutting with the bludgeoning of suppliers into giving special price concessions not available to other retailers. The A&P stores made especially effective use of this device, getting

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concessions from suppliers by threatening to take their business elsewhere.

The good-faith defense nullified the Clayton Act. When some company violated the law, the Federal Trade Commission found it almost impossible to prove that the company was not acting in good faith. Even so, good faith is beside the point. If we accept the premise that monopoly is bad, then it makes little difference whether it comes about through good faith, bad faith or indifference. Those reasons led Congress to pass the Robinson-Patman Act, which removed good faith as an absolute defense and made it a procedural defense only.

But the Supreme Court, in the Standard Oil Case, marched backward 15 years. It passed off the whole legislative history of Congressional intent, as well as the structure of the law itself, with the statement that ". . . there has been widespread understanding that, under the Robinson-Patman Act, it is a complete defense to a charge of price discrimination for the seller to show . . . good faith. . . . We see no reason to depart now from that interpretation."

In the arguments, the matter of law was largely forgotten and national economic policy debated. The five majority Justices—Frankfurter, Burton, Douglas, Jackson and Clark—ignoring the legal questions completely, preferred instead to decide the issue on the basis of their personal economic opinions. The resulting opinions probably arose from a misconception of the terms "hard competition" and "soft competition." Hard competition is vigorous, healthy, and benefits the consumer by driving prices down. Soft competition, on the other hand, is weak and keeps prices high. Anyone who really believes in a competitive system would accept the premise that hard competition is good and soft competition is bad. What the Standard Oil lawyers tried to show was that the Robinson-Patman Act enforced soft competition by "protecting" small business from having to compete with big business.

If hard competition is to be our national policy, and it should be, then we should not enforce soft competition. But unfair price discriminations actually represent soft competition. While the immediate effect may resemble hard competition, what actually happens is that competitors of big business are driven out. The remaining independents, noting the fate of their brethren, are kept "in line." The net effect is monopoly control and price fixing, which is certainly soft, not hard, competition.

If the history of competition shows anything, it shows that the creation of the giant trusts during the period 1893-1907 and beyond was made possible largely by price discriminations used to eliminate some competitors and hold others in line. If we want to strive for a com-

petitive system, we cannot accept "competitive" methods which result in a substantial destruction of competition. That is the whole philosophy of the Robinson-Patman Act. This law does not say that you cannot cut prices. It simply says that if you do cut prices in one store or to one buyer, you must cut prices across the board. But even these restrictions do not apply if the discriminatory price cuts are the result of cost savings or if there is no possibility that the price cuts will result in a *substantial* lessening of competition.

The proponents of the Robinson-Patman Act seek only a chance for small business to compete on its own merits—subject to its inherent disadvantages of size and lack of financial backing. They ask only that it be spared the artificial disadvantage of being subject to unfair attacks.

If the good-faith defense remains absolute, contrary to the law but as approved by the Supreme Court, then we go back to a period of open season on small business. Every time a big concern makes a price discrimination it can claim that it is merely competing in good faith. It will be generally impossible to disprove this since the FTC cannot read minds to the satisfaction of the courts. The FTC will be like a policeman who cannot stop a man from pointing a loaded pistol at a passerby, or stop a motorist from driving 60 miles an hour in a 25-mile zone unless he can prove that the driver was speeding with intent to kill enough people to lessen the total population substantially.

Good faith is almost impossible to disprove. And yet the Senate Judiciary Committee has favorably reported a bill to "confirm" the Supreme Court decision by making good faith an absolute defense to charges of price discrimination harmful to competition.

One ray of sunshine penetrates this dark picture. The FTC and a minority committee report have proposed an amendment to the bill which would allow the good-faith defense to be absolute "unless the effect . . . may be substantially to lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly. . . ." This amendment, at the moment, represents the only hope for the proponents of an effective Robinson-Patman Act. Mere opposition to the bill itself would be futile. Even if it were stopped in Congress—or if vetoed by the President—the Court decision would remain in effect.

Congress and the public must be made to see that the Robinson-Patman Act itself and not the good-faith doctrine is the real issue. Outright repeal of Robinson-Patman would be highly unpopular; even its opponents pay it lip service. If this devious method of bringing about its obliteration can be exposed and the issue voted on its true merits, small business may yet win the test.

CMP—CALCULATED MONOPOLY PROJECT?

ON JULY 1, the United States entered the second phase of its defense mobilization planning. At that time, the national economy moved from a stage of makeshift procurement to comprehensive planning of production.

Officially, the base of this new emergency operation is the Controlled Materials Plan—CMP in the alphabetical argot of Washington officialdom. To defense mobilizers, the CMP is a powerful tool with which to bludgeon out of industry the wherewithal of force the military planners say is needed to put the country in a stronger international position. To the nation's businessmen, the CMP is a fearful governmental authority, and the smaller the business, the greater the fear. For businesses in the metal-using industries which have no direct defense contracts, the CMP contains the threat of bankruptcy, since the new plan provides small businesses outside of the privileged economic sanctuary no assurance that they will continue to get enough raw materials to stay in operation.

The CMP, by official definition, is a method of assuring that the things the government needs for the defense program will be produced and delivered in the amounts required when they are needed. The CMP does not directly cover all supply. Only the three most basic materials of twentieth-century production—steel, copper and aluminum—are controlled materials. Those three were picked because they are the common denominators of all the hard goods of war production—steel, because it is the core of almost every piece of military equipment; copper, because it is to electronics equipment and shells what steel is to tanks and ships; and aluminum, because it is the primary ingredient of our projected 95-group Air Force.

The CMP constitutes the means of direct allocation of those three principal materials. As the plan goes into effect in the third quarter of this year, the defense mobilizers will have been informed of all contracts and stockpiling requirements of the military for the following three months. Mobilization officials will then set about parceling out the three precious materials to the contractors who have landed the lush military contracts. The prime contractors of big industry will be allowed to hand down the steel, copper and aluminum to their lower suppliers for any sub-contracting required.

Our experience in World War II gives the best clue to the long-term effects of such big-industry-managed

by **Robb Clark**

mobilization. During the six years from 1939 to 1945, the relative importance of small business (firms with less than 500 employees) fell from the point where it produced 52 percent of total manufacturing, to 38 percent. The iron and steel industry alone increased its personnel by 500,000, the great bulk of which was in the very large firms. In reporting on the growth of economic concentration during the war, the Smaller War Plants Corporation attributed that dangerous movement to two primary factors: the distribution of the bulk of nearly \$200 billion of military contracts to "a small number of great firms," and the proviso in the CMP which made prime contractors of military production "the supreme determiners of the distribution of materials. . . ."

As it is presently planned by the administrator of the National Production Authority, Manly Fleischmann, the portions of steel, copper and aluminum output that will come under direct CMP allocation are, roughly 30, 40 and 50 percent, respectively. (Steel is in relatively greater supply than copper, and copper is relatively more available than the critically short aluminum.) Thus, the plan will direct approximately 40 percent of existing materials to the commanding heights of American industry—General Motors, Ford, Westinghouse, Remington Arms, Dow Chemical, et al, the companies capable of undertaking production of the Patton tank, the B-36, the bazooka and aircraft electronic equipment on a mass scale. This direct allocation is known as the "closed end" of the plan. It is the privileged economic sanctuary.

What happens to the remaining 70 percent of current steel output, the 60 percent of copper production and the 50 percent of aluminum supplies not scheduled for direct allocation? Therein—thanks to General Electric's Charles E. Wilson, Continental Can's Lucius D. Clay and the financial servant of both, Sidney Weinberg—lies the hooker. The remaining supplies of those materials, those three mobilizers solemnly determined back in April, should go to business "through the normal channels." This is the "open end" of the plan.

According to the public reasoning of those who determined the scope of the plan, there is no need for a greater degree of control, primarily, because the country is not now at "war." They also claim that the open-end plan is the best way to start materials allocation because it could be readily converted to all-out allocation should the emergency arise. They parry the suggestion that the present emergency will continue for a

Robb Clark is the pseudonym for an executive in one of the defense agencies which developed the Controlled Materials Plan.

long period of time, and that small business, left unprotected, is certain to be hurt—whether we are at “war” or not.

In effect, non-defense-contracting businessmen are being told: Although there still is the same number of you as before—100 percent—there will be only 60 percent of former supplies. So, go get it; and only the strongest shall survive! Wilson made an impassioned argument as to why he wanted it so: He would “not be a party to saddling United States business with a Russian-type economy.” But the facts, and many of Mr. Wilson’s own advisers, indicate that the plan must be broadened to provide for assurance of greater distribution of materials unless the trend toward greater monopoly control of the country is to become precipitate.

During World War II, it was necessary to institute a complete Controlled Materials Plan. There was no “open ending.” Only after VE day, when military requirements fell sharply and an end to controls was in sight, was there a slackening in the scope of government-supervised distribution of scarce materials. Wilson, Weinberg and Clay have decided that “because we are not now in a war” there is no need for control over supplies that are not necessary for the direct military effort. But the administrators who will have to make the CMP work differ.

Take the position of John F. Skillman, Production Controls Officer of the National Production Authority. On April 13, at the time Wilson, Weinberg and Clay were deciding how the Controlled Materials Plan would be run, Skillman admitted: “In any economy that is as closely balanced as our present economy is, it doesn’t make much difference whether you take away two percent or 22 percent, you immediately create imbalance. The fact that the military programs have pre-empted *any* amount of material creates imbalance for somebody, because we are operating at a scale never dreamed of before in our production plants.”

And there is Mr. Skillman’s boss, Walter C. Skuce, Deputy Administrator of the NPA, who headed the Controlled Materials Division of the War Production Board in World War II. In a frantic effort to stop the adoption of a limited CMP, Skuce visited Wilson personally and pleaded for direct allocation of much more than the 40 percent of materials scheduled to come under the “closed end.” Skuce argued that greater supervised distribution was mandatory “in order to assure relatively just apportionment to a major segment of the economy.” Wilson paid no attention to the facts and figures Skuce presented in support of his argument.

A short time later, Charles E. Wampler, who is directing the Program and Requirements Division of the Defense Production Administration, put the situation more forcefully at a meeting with some of his programming

assistants: “This big ‘open end’ is bound to aggravate our small business problem, because the more effective purchasers, the companies with capital to buy whatever they need at any price [the bigs] will get their materials, and the less effective purchasers [the smalls] will be rapidly squeezed out.”

But Wilson’s will is fiat. And so far as the CMP is concerned, nothing short of all-out war will change it.

The CMP issue, however, does not end with Wilson’s Office of Defense Mobilization. Prices are a basic factor, for with the tremendously increased pressure on the remaining 60 percent of materials, a more vicious and brazen gray market than the present one is certain to arise. When the arrant “open-end” CMP starts operating—just at the time those \$26 billion in Defense Department contracts start making their force felt—something will have to give. It doesn’t take much imagination to see who will be receiving and who will be giving.

Recent testimony of the NPA officials before the House Monopoly Subcommittee illustrates what happens when one of the larger industries, with its henchmen on the inside of the mobilization agencies, proceeds to control the steel for any particular product. In this case it was steel for locomotives. General Motors successfully channeled all available steel for locomotive production away from its four competitors—the American Locomotive Company, Fairbanks-Morse, General Electric and Baldwin-Lima Hamilton Corporation. All it took was for a dollar-a-year man handily to “lose” the applications of the four competitors and shoot the GM allotment request on through the bureaucratic maze.

If that could happen to Fairbanks-Morse and the GE locomotive division, what will be the fate of the manufacturer of industrial jacks (150 employees) in Lexington, Ky., or the manufacturer of grain-elevator machinery (80 employees) in Kalispell, Mont., or the manufacturer of electronic components (190 employees) in Freeport, Ill., or the profit-sharing manufacturer of barrel staves (48 employees) in Waukesha, Wis., or the manufacturer of home-workshop cutting tools (65 employees) in Cedar Rapids, Iowa? Some of these firms use only one to five tons of steel a month. Yet, when the belt-buckling time comes, they are the first to be squeezed out.

That the rapid elimination of these small and independent business concerns is dangerous in a democracy is unquestionable. When this economic aggrandizement takes place under the ægis of military production, it is even more dangerous. The fresh memory of Zaibatsu Japan, Nazi Germany and Black-Shirt Italy should serve as a warning. But the trend cannot be checked as long as big industry continues to call all the plays.

HAROLD L. ICKES: *Spanish Liberty or Franco?*

IT WAS the flagrant armed intervention in Spain by Mussolini and Hitler that fastened the poisonous tentacles of Fascist Dictator Franco upon that unhappy country. Hitler's operation was bold to the degree that, at one time, the German consul at Seville protested against the appearance of German pilots wearing their own uniforms. To the contrary, the Italian airmen were disguised as "Spanish Foreign Legionnaires." While Hitler and Mussolini were supplying not only men but munitions and airplanes to help the Spanish Fascists, Russia sent what aid she could to the Loyalists. America, it will be remembered, stood coldly by and refused even to sell munitions of war to the Spanish Republic for self-defense, although it had gold with which to pay for them.

If we are entitled to claim credit for not directly helping Fascist Franco to seize power, we certainly cannot congratulate ourselves for the aid that we are giving the Spanish dictator today to retain power. We are making it possible for some future historian to write that, while it was the material help that Hitler and Mussolini supplied to Fascist Franco that made it possible for him to win his rebellion, it was the financial and diplomatic assistance freely supplied later by the greatest republic in the world that enabled Fascist Franco to retain power by the brutal suppression of the Spanish people. Thus, our descendants will have something else about which to hang their heads in shame, in addition to our callous war of aggression against Mexico.

Once again our State Department has done the wrong thing at the wrong time with regard to Spain. Since the passage of the Neutrality Act, our whole course with respect to Spain has not only contradicted our history, it has contradicted itself. How nobly we announced more than once that, as the democratic country that we boast ourselves to be, we would not think of sending an ambassador back to Madrid, from which we had withdrawn one in righteous indignation. Then, following this chest thumping, our State Department engaged in a surreptitious and deceitful relationship with Spain that would have been worthy of Machiavelli himself.

I do not know whether we tried to fool France and Great Britain and other Western European democracies as we did our own people, but it was generally believed for a long time that in no conceivable circumstances would we recognize the Spanish dictator. Later, Secretary Acheson, without any justification based upon a change in the international situation, took the steps nec-

essary to exchange ambassadors with Spain. For the price of betraying democracy, he did not even require any loosening of Franco's strangling grip upon the throat of Spanish freedom. By way of penance, we made a loan of \$65 million to Franco, the Fascist dictator. This will be followed by other loans—we might as well be frank with ourselves and call them gifts—if the "Grandee-in-Exile," Senor Don Mr. P. de McCarran y Shea can again and again thrust his arms full length into the tax money of the American people as he has done so often in the past.

That Spain is seething with revolt is well known, despite the frantic efforts of Franco to suppress the news. Of course, Franco and his spokesmen pretend that, if Spain is on the edge of another civil war, it is the result of the plottings and machinations of the Communists. This is not true. It is another "McCarthyism" which is synonymous with the "big lie." As the *New York Times* said in an editorial on June 18:

The Communists are now claiming credit for fomenting the recent strikes in Catalonia and the Basque country—which is just what Franco would like to have every one believe. Fortunately, the claim is false. The strike movements were so impressive because they were so lacking in politics and so widespread in their social and economic coverage. . . . The Communists are weak and discredited, in and out of Spain. They cannot claim leadership of the opposition or of the exiles. . . . It would be tragic if the Franco regime were now allowed to brand all opposition as Red. . . . Once it is realized that nearly every element in Spain, including the opposition, is anti-Communist, the situation will take on a different aspect. These developments should make us ponder carefully the extent to which American aid is holding up the Franco regime.

Serious strikes, that have been suppressed with difficulty, have already occurred in Bilbao, San Sebastian, Vitoria and Pamplona. Franco has been forewarned that there will be a strike in Madrid. In his Christmas message, Senor Don José Antonio de Aguirre, president of the Basque Government in exile, himself a devout Catholic, declared that "Democrats of all sorts, Republicans, Socialists, Monarchists, Basques, Catalans, Galicians, all liberal men, all Catholics who wish to defend the true Christian meaning of freedom must raise their voices to demand a place in the coalition of the Western World." Much of what Senor de Aguirre called for has already come true. At this time of crisis for liberty in Spain, will free America continue to take her stand with Fascist Dictator Franco?

HAROLD L. ICKES

BOOKS IN REVIEW

VARIETIES OF TOTALITARIAN EXPERIENCE

THOUGHTFUL OBSERVERS of Communism since Lenin developed the Jehovah-like pronouncements of Karl Marx into a political entity and Stalin became the first oppressive Pope of the International have noted the resemblances between the course of Communism and that of Catholicism. Paul Blanshard has now put in useful detail the ways in which

COMMUNISM, DEMOCRACY AND
CATHOLIC POWER, by Paul Blanshard (Beacon; \$3.50).

the Communist anti-Christians have become religious fanatics and the Christian expounders have become politicians. Although he finds many similarities in methods as well as formulas between the Kremlin and the Vatican, he appreciates the differences between them and the disadvantages of each. It is no accident that at the moment Catholicism and Communism are so ferociously opposed to each other: as Blanshard emphasizes, they have much in common and are in hot competition for total thought control.

This book is valuable because it specifies and documents the patterns of repression and censorship common to the Vatican and the Kremlin. Unfortunately, the Kremlin can clamp a still tighter lid on thought and expression throughout Russia and its enslaved satellites; fortunately, the Roman Catholic emissaries can as yet use only the weapons of intimidation, boycott and political influence. But if we submit to either we are in for cultural darkness and spiritual decay, and Blanshard demonstrates this bitter future by ample quotations from the past. Our press is quick to seize on the sins of Communism and its ridiculous perversions of the truth; but with submissive cowardice most American newspapers and magazines refuse even to report the offenses of Catholicism. It was only when Cardinal Spellman, with shameful arrogance, delivered his intemperate attack on Mrs.

by M. R. Werner

Roosevelt for her opposition to the Church's effort to obtain public funds for private education that the American press felt free to comment. When the Cardinal oppressed the union of Catholic grave-diggers there was a notable absence of editorial comment. When he recently published a novel, *The Foundling*, the newspapers, at least in New York, treated its bathos with cringing caution. Books remain the only semi-free medium for criticism of Catholicism; Communism can be exposed and criticized in every medium.

It is significant of the alarm that Catholicism has caused among non-Catholics who resent its political efforts and cultural and scientific lags that, besides Blanshard's book, publishers have brought out since March Mrs. Vashti Cromwell McCollum's *One Woman's Fight* (Doubleday; \$3), a moving, naive account of her successful, arduous protest against forcible religious education in the public schools of Champaign, Illinois, and Conrad H. Moehlman's *The Wall of Separation Between Church and State* (Beacon; \$3), a careful, historical argument against the Catholic interpretation of the First Amendment to the Constitution. Moehlman publishes one quotation which seems to sum up both his and Blanshard's theses: it comes from Louis Veuillot, who died in 1883: "When we Catholics are in the minority, we demand freedom in the name of *your* principles; when we Catholics are in the majority, we deny freedom in the name of *our* principles." One wonders if Stalin and his henchmen ever read this statement of the religious double standard.

Blanshard offers the reader careful analyses of both the Kremlin and the Vatican structures of power, their devices for deification of Stalin and the

Pope, their efforts at thought control, their attacks on libertarian public education, their "management of truth" for their own special advantages and their strategies for the penetration of democracy, which both despise. Both Communism and Catholicism, his book indicates, are so unsure of the strength of their faiths that they dare not permit their communicants access to free philosophy or even impartial fact. Stalin imposes his infallibility and inspiration on his followers and slaves by benefit of secret police and slave-labor camps. The Popes no longer have the Inquisition, but they do have excommunication, political and social pressure groups, censorship and boycott as their powerful weapons of intimidation. It is ironic and tragic that in some countries where over dark centuries Catholic authoritarianism has softened up the population to unquestioning obedience the Communists have conquered the more easily. In the United States, where the population is acutely aware of the menace of Communism, Blanshard finds a greater threat today in political Catholicism. The rest of us must no more be caught off guard by the deceptions of the priests and their political tools than by those of the Communists and their stooges.

Blanshard sums up the proper American course of action:

It seems to me that the basic elements of a consistent policy are more or less self-evident. It is bound to be a policy of constructive opposition to the political power and the authoritarian spirit of both the Vatican and the Kremlin, because they are totalitarian agencies whose aims and methods are incompatible with democratic ideals. Men who believe in government by the consent of the governed, men who accept freedom of thought and freedom of information as the basic freedoms of democratic life, could scarcely be expected to view with favor two organizations which neither practice nor preach these freedoms in their own institutional life or in the nations which they com-

pletely conquer. We have a right as defenders of democracy to judge both the Kremlin and the Vatican by their products, and history shows us that the completely Catholic nation is no more democratic than the completely Communist nation. If we are asked to choose today between the Soviet Union and Catholic Spain, we will choose neither.

M. R. Werner, journalist and biographer, was the editor of *Stalin's Kampf*.

THE ARTIST'S WAY

WORLD WITHIN WORLD, by Stephen Spender (Harcourt, Brace; \$3.50).

A BOOK contains what a reader brings to it. It would not occur to me to restate this truism, were I not aware that Stephen Spender's autobiography, *World Within World*, will seem an unsatisfactory book to some and a highly interesting one to others.

The dissidents might ask why Spender, a poet and essayist, should impose his life story on his readers at the age of forty-two. One might complain, too, that the present work seems somewhat scattered, being unequally divided among memories, characterizations and estimates of such notable friends as Auden, Isherwood, Virginia Woolf, T. S. Eliot; sex confessions that are at once frank and elusively abstract so that they have more meaning for the writer than for the reader; notes on the writing of poetry; and a survey of the social tone of the period from 1930 on as it is reflected in the author's moral and artistic evolution. One might even say that *World Within World* is an elaborate collection of autobiographical speculations rather than a true biography.

Though all of the book is keenly sensitive and intelligent, its chief significance for me lies in its description of Spender's struggle with the politics of his time. Spender's avowals, though always personal, are typical of a whole generation of young artists and intellectuals who came of age in the early thirties. Spender's discussion not only reveals the specific genesis of his own political sentiments, their course and transformation through the ensuing years, but indirectly defines the value and limitations of the artist as a political factor in contemporary society.

The artist, it would seem from Spen-

der's testimony, starts from his artistic perception and ends there. He may perform some concrete political function, but his major contribution is rarely contained in his specific political action. He is an independent witness, a seeker and a register of the truth, but when he takes sides he is hardly ever as effective (even politically) as he is in his "independence" as an artist. A Malraux who fights for the Loyalists in Spain may be an admirable figure—like any good soldier in a worthy cause—but even then his value is not as great or real as his novels and essays even when they are politically muddy. Picasso, the member of the Party, is not as valuable even to it as he is as a non-political painter—though the party members and others may be too stupid to realize it.

Spender tells us first how shocked he was when he heard that an Oxford classmate had turned Communist. Then he relates how he became sympathetic to that ideology—about which nevertheless he always harbored certain moral and philosophic qualms—not only because such Soviet films as "Mother," "Potemkin," "The Road to Life," "had the modernism, the poetic sensibility, the satire, the visual beauty" he admired in other forms of modern art but because "they also conveyed a message of hope like an answer to *The Waste Land*. They extolled a heroic attitude which had not yet become officialized.

"My vaguely distressed consciousness," Spender continues, "now began to formulate along lines laid down by Marxist arguments." What a silly way, one might think, to be won over to a political movement. But it is the artist's way. The artist is a kind of focus of the world around him; the facts of the world around Spender were "unemployment, economic crises, nascent fascism, approaching war." The emotional anti-fascism of the artists might have served as the storm signal for the political technicians of the early thirties; because it didn't, all of us suffered.

The attempt to relate public passion to his private life Spender calls a failure. He abandoned his communism. But he also considers the fight against fascism a failure. "Today," he says,

"there is more realization of problems than there is faith in solutions"—and he believes this is all to the good.

Whatever one's opinion of Spender's conclusion, what is healthy about his book is that it is not a political apology, not merely a craven disavowal and diatribe against a formerly held position. Spender's honesty leaves the path open to future growth. His book, in short, is a statement and an inquiry, not another cry of fear. HAROLD CLURMAN

INSIGHTS AND ERRORS

ESSAYS IN SOCIAL THEORY, by G. D. H. Cole (Macmillan; \$3).

THOSE who believe that history is the march of God in the world, or the product of inexorable (economic) forces, or the intercessions of great men, would do well to ponder G. D. H. Cole's saga of Chadwick's nose. Edwin Chadwick, perhaps the most hated man in mid-nineteenth-century England, architect of the new Poor Law and principal inspirer of the Factory Act of 1833, smelt the odor of poverty and found it fetid. A fanatical if tactless man, helped in this instance by the cholera scare, he overcame great opposition to launch modern sanitary legislation right in the middle of the heyday of laissez-faire.

So random a fact has rarely inconvenienced the great systematizers of history, but it is the merit of Cole as thinker that he does not attempt to coerce events into the rigidities of doctrinal megalomania. This is not to say that he is a man only of insights and not of errors; he is all too evidently both. But he is one who respects reason and seeks truth, paying scrupulous regard to the facts as he perceives and understands them. His new book, a collection of somewhat diverse essays written (and many previously published) over the past decade, exhibits both the sharpness and the limitations of Cole's mind.

The book begins with a series of essays discussing certain problems of scope and method in social and political theory, the teaching of social studies and the aims of education. Cole is opposed to teachers' colleges on the sensible ground that the abnormality of teachers' lives should not be exaggerated

by too early a denial of normal social and intellectual intercourse and by requiring adolescents to decide to be teachers before they have learned whether they are likely to be good at the job or happy in it. He urges, among other things, that education be concerned with the prevention of nuisance—that every boy and girl not only be given an adequate mastery of the three R's but know "how to keep quiet . . . turn off the gas or water or electricity at the main . . . and sing in tune (unless nature has decreed otherwise)."

In a group of essays dealing with social morality and democracy, Cole advances the proposition that reasonable men, even if they argue long enough with open minds, are not certain to agree. They can differ about ends as well as means; more important, different men, in unlike communities, set store by different things or put varying valuations upon them. Thus there is, in human affairs, no absolutely demonstrable right course to follow.

Nevertheless, Cole believes that some things can be labeled "wrong," even if no one course can be plainly marked out as right. This wrongness may be ethical, by which Cole means an affront to the commonly accepted system of morality or, if his concluding essay ("Credo") is indicative, a deviation from his private prejudices. But why a system of prejudices constitutes moral "right," Cole does not make convincingly clear; such a standard, indeed, introduces an *ad hominem* argument into an otherwise rational discussion. Similarly, if a social relativism constitutes the most that men can expect to mean by social right, then morality becomes an incidence of power or consent, a foundation scarcely consistent with Cole's further contention that certain criteria or values are "objectively" good. This wrongness, he also contends, may be factual, in the sense that it is wrong, but not *morally* wrong, to seek to restore laissez-faire or state sovereignty in a world where the facts of economic and political interdependence turn such attempts into the evils of unregulated monopoly capitalism or ineffectual national states.

Cole writes as a Socialist and a professed believer in democracy, but his conception of democracy has little relation to modern systems of representative government. Indeed, his disdain for parliamentary democracy and his emphasis on the idea of fellowship lead him to the bizarre conclusion that "villages are in many respects more democratic places than towns, even when they vote as the squire and the parson tell them," and that Soviets as they existed on the morrow of the Russian Revolution were "the surest expression of its democratic soul." Apart from the factual misconceptions inherent in these views, Cole nowhere confronts the paradox that to return to the "democracy" of the villages and Soviets would require a social and political revolution engineered by a huge bureaucracy (which he distrusts) under the control of a parliament (which he terms undemocratic). It is clear that while Cole no longer presses his early advocacy of Guild Socialism, he remains queerly fascinated by tangential or fringe movements and ideas.

Of particular note among the remaining essays is an intelligent, and intelligible (no mean feat!), study of Rousseau's political theory, enlightening analyses of the Communist Manifesto and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and judicious comments on nationalism, reform in the civil service and the theories of August Comte.

DAVID SPITZ

David Spitz, assistant professor of Political Science at Ohio State University, is the author of *Patterns of Anti-Democratic Thought*.

FITZGERALD ONCE MORE

THE STORIES OF F. SCOTT FITZGERALD:

A SELECTION OF TWENTY-EGHT STORIES. With an introduction by Malcolm Cowley (Scribner's; \$3.75).

THIS COLLECTION is important because it gives us just about all of Scott Fitzgerald's short stories that deserve to be put on the same shelf with *The Great Gatsby*, *Tender Is the Night* and *The Last Tycoon*. And prefacing it is an essay by Malcolm Cowley defining Fitzgerald's permanent achievement that is the finest piece of criticism that has

so far come out of the spectacular Fitzgerald revival.

In addition to his five novels, Fitzgerald wrote about one hundred and sixty stories. Eighty percent of them were potboilers intended merely to satisfy the fiction specifications of popular magazines. Now and then even the trashier ones contain fine passages and some of these later turn up verbatim in his novels. But most of Fitzgerald's short stories suffer from hasty workmanship.

At least twenty-eight of them, however, give us the careful writing, the complicated emotional intensity, the clean dialogue and the bright, sensuous imagery that make his novels such good reading. And in fact the short fiction that Cowley has brought together here is very close to Fitzgerald's novels in theme, mood and technique. This is the less remarkable when we remember that "May Day," "Absolution" and "One Trip Abroad" were the opening chapters for early versions, respectively, of *The Beautiful and Damned*, *The Great Gatsby* and *Tender Is the Night*. "Winter Dreams," Fitzgerald once said, is also a kind of "preface" to *Gatsby*. And we can see now that "Crazy Sunday" stands in much the same relationship to *The Last Tycoon*.

Comparing Cowley's choice twenty-eight with the rest of Fitzgerald's stories, we can also see why Fitzgerald put most of his careful work into his novels. The big mass-circulation magazines were willing to pay him as much as \$5,000 for trite but conventional stuff that is practically unreadable today. Yet even at the height of his popularity they consistently turned down really good things like "The Diamond as Big as the Ritz," "May Day," "Absolution" and "Crazy Sunday" because they were somewhat unusual in form or subject matter. He learned, the hard way, to depend on his magazine hackwork for the money that would give him the leisure so necessary for his longer and more ambitious fiction.

HENRY DAN PIPER

Henry Dan Piper, a member of the Graduate Faculty in the Department of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University, is currently completing a critical study of the writings of F. Scott Fitzgerald.

TOPIC NUMBER ONE

THE TROUBLED AIR, by Irwin Shaw (Random House; \$3.75).

IRWIN SHAW, who can get tooled up and into production about as fast as any living writer, has turned out a novel about an extremely serious contemporary problem. Unfortunately, it isn't always possible to take the story seriously.

Clement Archer, director of the radio program "University Town," is ordered to fire four members of his cast and the program composer because a smear-sheet is about to label them Reds. One of the five is Archer's best friend—got him his job in fact. (And it *that* isn't trouble enough, Archer's wife is engaged in a difficult pregnancy.) The five doomed to economic execution include an honest Communist, a dishonest one, a hopelessly bewildered innocent, a Negro padding about in a fog of anti-white prejudice and a refugee composer who has been cornered by the immigration authorities and is being run down between two wives, past and present. The novel deals with Archer's efforts to find out what's what with his associates and to arrive at a civilized course of action for himself.

Archer is the-man-of-good-will, the anxious man: in brief, Modern Man. The most serious defect in the novel is his lack of size and vitality; instead of getting larger as the novel progresses, he is honed down to a knife-edge upon which a totally disproportionate burden of honor and decency is precariously balanced. Many of the other characters suffer from a similar anemia. They are behavioristic mechanisms, specimens, exhibits. I would exempt from this criticism that talented, pitiable slob, the composer Pokorny, who, as a spokesman for an assassinated race and a condemned continent, assumes a more than ideological significance; also a number of the minor characters—noticeably the children, and, significantly, Sandler, the pharmaceutical magnate sponsoring the show, who appears to have more stature than anyone associated with it. Shaw's characters are well-drawn, or more accurately, well-differentiated; they *seem* alive.

Perhaps the trouble is that they are too completely at the service of the narrative. They dash on stage, speak their lines, wheel, dash off. They work so hard for Irwin Shaw that they scarcely get a chance to breathe. Or perhaps the trouble is that the author has chosen to stage his drama in a setting that makes it ironic and faintly absurd. The world of radio is so artificial and inherently fraudulent that a moral conflict behind

its doors soon becomes a sort of intellectual soap opera.

The defects of *The Troubled Air* are literary; its virtues are the virtues of the mind. Shaw brings to bear upon his problem a sophisticated intelligence and an expert gasp of native Communist machinery and mentality. He realizes that there are many roads to conversion and apostasy; his characters, though emotionally pallid, are never psychologically or ideologically oversimplified. Moreover, they declare their "positions" crisply and cogently. The writing is lathered up with a lot of wisecracking drivel—an accurate reproduction of smart-world patois, I am sure, but depressing nonetheless—but it is also studded with shrewd observations and provocative insights. Archer's apostrophe to his tapped telephone opens up a hair-raising vista of a modern Inferno.

DAVID GOLDKNOFF

David Goldknopf is the author of a novel, *Hills on the Highway*, and has contributed short stories to *Harper's*, *This Week* and the *Antioch Review*.

MUSIC

Serge Koussevitzky

THOUGH he was almost seventy-seven, Koussevitzky was cut off in the prime of life. Until he was removed from public activity last February by his final illness—a complication of leukemia and a virus infection—his energy seemed inexhaustible and his creative force was more vigorous than ever. In the last year of his career he made the rounds of South America and Europe as a guest conductor and took charge of the American tour of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra. This summer at Tanglewood he intended to venture into the field of opera for the first time in many years by directing performances of Tchaikovsky's "Pique Dame" at the Berkshire Music Center. Koussevitzky was the only conductor of his generation who refused to settle down into a comfortable, retrospective old age.

The central secret of Koussevitzky's greatness as a performing musician was his belief that perfection was attainable. When he was a boy in Russia he was awarded a scholarship on the condition that he should learn to play the double-

bass. Before he was out of his teens he had mastered that unwieldy instrument so completely that he was recognized throughout Europe as its leading virtuoso. When he became conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra more than a quarter of a century later he approached his task with a similar exigence of purpose, and for twenty-five years, while the fortunes of other orchestras rose and fell, he required his players every week to come within hailing distance of perfect execution. Often, as far as the fallible human ear could judge, they attained it.

Koussevitzky's artistic self-discipline was even more severe than the discipline he required of his players. Since he was less adept at reading complex orchestral scores than many of his colleagues, he spent arduous days of preparation before undertaking the first rehearsal of a work new to him. Jealous musicians sometimes smiled in superior fashion at this spadework* out at his home in Brookline; but his recognition of his own shortcomings enabled him in the end to achieve superior performances, because he left nothing to chance or improvisation. When he gave the American premiere of Stravinsky's "Oedipus Rex," for instance, he required the tenor soloist, Arthur Hackett, to rehearse the tricky music of Oedipus with him privately thirty-seven times before he thought they knew it well enough to put it together with the chorus and orchestra.

With a musician of less ardent temperament, such painstaking preparation might have led to performances that were drained of life and enthusiasm. But for Koussevitzky each concert was a new campaign, with a new victory in sight. When the time came to present a work to the public he was suffused with fresh inspirational zeal. The hundredth repetition of a time-worn classic was a premiere for him, for it provided a chance to realize its meaning more fully than ever before. There was nothing spurious about the exaltation that came into his face as he brought the "Eroica" Symphony or the First Brahms to its peroration.

Koussevitzky's sense of drama and

his incredibly keen ear for texture and color made his performances of Tchaikovsky, Debussy and Ravel unique. In his earlier years in Boston these were the best items in his repertory. But he constantly grew in insight and recreative power, and in his latter years only such supreme masterpieces as Bach's Mass in B minor and the Beethoven symphonies gave him adequate scope. Having settled long ago how "Daphnis and Chloe" and Tchaikovsky's Fifth ought to sound, he kept his interpretation of them unchanged. But the Ninth Symphony and the B minor Mass increased in grandeur and majesty each time he returned to them, and his last performances were touched with sublimity.

Koussevitzky's growth as a man and as an educator kept pace with his growth as an artist. Orchestral conductors are not a generous tribe, and Koussevitzky stood apart from his colleagues in his readiness to help younger musicians in whose talent he had confidence. To him

Leonard Bernstein owes much of the impetus of his career, and it is an open secret that Koussevitzky experienced one of his greatest disappointments when the Boston Symphony board refused to agree to the appointment of Bernstein as his successor. William Kapell, Dorothy Maynor, Frances Yeend and David Lloyd are only a few of the gifted artists who were started on their way by Koussevitzky's sponsorship.

American composers owe him as great a debt of gratitude. From the beginning an alert and discriminating propagandist for contemporary music, he began as soon as he reached Boston to hunt out the best new American works and to present them unceasingly to an audience that was not entirely friendly. From Aaron Copland on down the line, the

most promising American composers found an eager collaborator in Koussevitzky. The almost unbelievable development of serious American composition in the past generation is due more to the unremitting labors of Koussevitzky than to those of any other man.

In shaping the destinies of Tanglewood, which he took over in 1936, Koussevitzky sought to bring together in a single summer center the performance of valuable music, new and old, the exacting training of professional musicians and the enhancement of appreciation among amateurs. To the extent that it continues to relate all these concerns to the guiding control of the highest taste, Tanglewood will remain a fitting memorial to the man who conceived it.

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MOVIES: Shows of Violence

FROM TIME TO TIME, when they run out of other people's ideas, the movie concocters fall back on the expedient of recasting an old picture and issuing it as a fresh achievement. They select for this purpose either a film so banal that no one is likely to remember it or one so memorable that it may pick up business by reflected reputation. "M," now made anew by Columbia Pictures, belongs to the second category—in fact, it is the ultimate example of that category unless someone decides to star Danny Kaye and Bobby Driscoll in "The Kid." There have been greater movies than the Fritz Lang-Peter Lorre "M" of 1932, but none that was more consistent within itself and with the environment from which it came.

The two versions have one obvious difference: the Lang-Lorre picture was a dream of horror in which the fantasy encompassed not only the hallucinated figure of the child murderer but his victims and pursuers as well; the new film is a realistic chase yarn, featuring police and gangsters, in which the killer alone inhabits a feverish world. That immediately brings up the question of whether or not child-strangling is a suitable theme for screen entertainment;

I think it is not. The original picture was a coherent work of art and "M's" mania was essential to its essay in horror. The new picture is an adventure film with the twist that the criminals have momentarily the same goal as the police. An amateur cat burglar would have served its purpose as well as the obscene, terrifying, shockingly sympathetic killer. David Wayne plays the part with considerable insight, but, whereas I would not recommend Lorre's picture to the young or infirm, I do not recommend Wayne's picture to anyone. It is much too unpleasant for entertainment and it contains almost none of the imagination, poetry or sickening self-identification with insanity that made the original so impressive.

Howard da Silva, Martin Gabel, Luther Adler and Raymond Burr support Wayne in the usual cops-and-robbers roles; a psychiatric "explanation" of sexual degeneracy has been added, but it is so oversimplified and prudishly guarded that it explains nothing. A few days after seeing it, I have almost forgotten the new picture; "M" means to me what it has always meant—Peter Lorre, a child's balloon, a tune whistled through the teeth and a band

of Beggar's Opera fantasies swarming in for the kill.

Whatever its intentions, a picture dealing with the international military police in Vienna is bound to be judged as propaganda. The makers of "Four in a Jeep" (it was produced in Switzerland by Lazar Wechsler of "The Search" and "The Last Chance") apparently decided to do what they could to frustrate such judgments by offering a product loaded with emotion, conflict and action but so confused in its story that no one could be sure what it was about.

Ralph Meeker, the American MP in the jeep, believes firmly that nobody but himself has a right to push other people around; he displays a contempt for the orders of his superiors that is unusual in the ranks. Joseph Yadin (a personable actor from Israel) as his Russian opposite number plays a man who keeps his warm impulses under tight control by a fanatic regard for authority. The English and French MPs, Michael Medwin and a bouncy little man named Dinan, act as chorus, messenger boys and peacemakers for the antagonists.

The Yank and the Russian fall out over an Austrian girl (Viveca Lindfors) who is of some interest to Soviet headquarters because her husband has run away from a Russian repatriation camp. Why he was being held there, why he ran away on the eve of his return to Vienna and what the Russians intend to do with him if they catch him is never clear. Neither is it clear why Meeker flouts his orders to protect the girl (sex, maybe?) or whether Yadin really wants to catch her husband. Toward the end and after a good deal of chip-on-shoulder stuff in a bucketing jeep, the American and the Russian are found shooting at each other through the rafters of a wrecked building, but a moment later they have sheepishly made up and are exchanging cigarettes and lights while their two more-or-less neutral buddies spirit Miss Lindfors and her husband away in a van full of artificial flowers. This last touch made me suspect that the whole picture is an allegory on the present world mess, but all I was able to gather from it is that the

four-power constabulary in Vienna is a completely snafued outfit and unlikely to contribute much to international harmony. Paulette Goddard turns in a delightful performance as the French MP's good-natured virago of a wife; the scenes beside a repatriation train in a Vienna station are genuinely touching.

The marked, indeed the embarrassing, inadequacies of direction, dialogue and acting in the screen adaptation of Richard Wright's *Native Son* have reduced the novel to the level of a social-uplift tract for mission gatherings. It was an extravagant story in the first place, but a powerful one and, for all its coincidental panic and violence, sufficiently credible to be both frightening and moving. On the screen, it appears stilted, entirely improbable; what is worse, it is so bizarrely unrealistic that it seems to concern some social problem generations behind us.

Wright, who plays the lead, is not a communicative actor, but he is at least acceptable in the part, and Gloria Madison as his girl friend is gently appealing. But the rest of the cast strikes a succession of false notes so insistent that the picture never has a chance to reach its audience.

Since the picture called "Sirocco" is performed in a dead calm, the title must refer to the tempest in Humphrey Bogart's bosom. But Bogart is not the man to make a public show of his feelings, so this is pure conjecture.

The movie takes place in Damascus at the time of the French-Arab troubles, with Bogart up to his old trick of gun-running; it is notable for the fact that the star carries no weapon and hits no one, male or female. Lee Cobb plays a noble French colonel, Zero Mostel is a sneaky Levantine; neither performer has much opportunity to display his talents. Marta Toren is present as Cobb's cold and shrewish mistress, a peculiarly repulsive role and I wonder what Hollywood thinks Frenchmen have come to. Enough of this: once in a blue moon you get "Casablanca"; the rest of the time it's "Sirocco."

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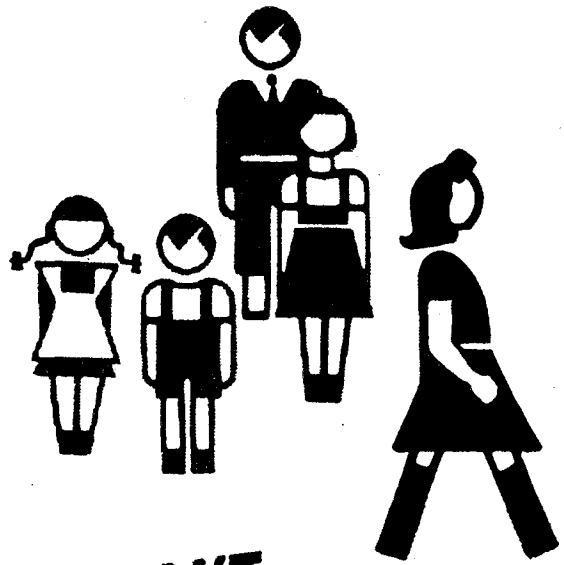
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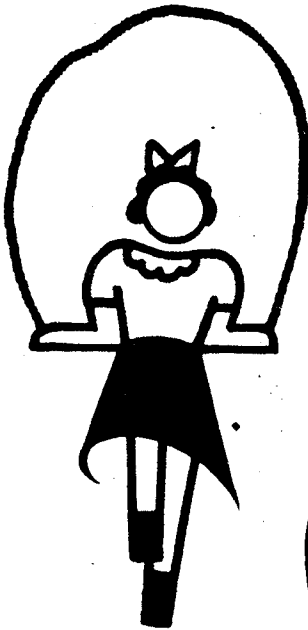


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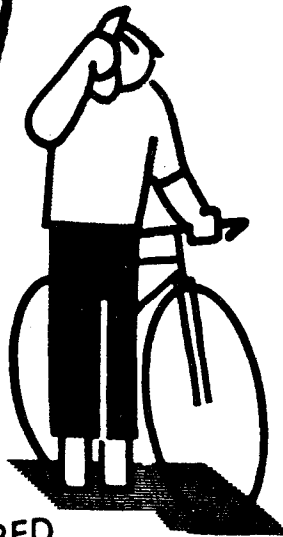


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